

Certen Discourses, written

No honorable
nor worthie
minded men
anie wayes in-
tended to be
touched in this
discourse.

tention hath no waies extended by any thing in my discourses contained, to touch the reputation or honor of any Noblemen, nor Gentlemen of noble or worshipfull houses, nor yet any others of worthie minds that haue entred into those Low Countrie seruices, rather to win reputation, knowledge and honor, than for any hope or desire of spoyle, or greedie gaine, but onelie such of our men of warre, as neglecting and contemning all true honor & discipline Militarie, haue brought in amongst vs a most shamefull and detestable arte and discipline of carowing and drunkennes, turning all matters Militarie to their own profitte and gaine, neglecting to loue and to win the loue of their soldiers vnder their gouernments & charges, making in a manner no accompt of them, nor of their liues; in such sort, as by their euill conduction, staruing and consuming great numbers and many thousands of our most braue English people, as also by their infinite other disorders, they haue made a farre greater warre vpon the Crowne and Realme of *England* and English Nation, than any waies vpon the enemies of our Countrie.

**Honor & gloria in excelsis Deo,
omnipotenti, sempiterno, &
incomprehensibili.**

Amen.

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Amen.

A Briefe discourse of Warre.

Written by Sir Roger Williams
Knight; *With his opinion concer-
ning some parts of the
Martiall Disci-
pline.*



Imprinted at London, by Thomas Orwin,
dwelling in Paternoster Row, ouer a-
gainst the Signe of the Checker.

1590.



TO THE MOST HO-
norabile, my singular and best Lord,

*Robert Earle of Essex and Ewe, Viscount
Hereford and Bourghchier, Lord Ferrers
of Chartley, Bourghchier and Louayne,
Master of the Queenes Maiesties hortle,
and Knight of the most noble
Order of the Garter:*

Roger Williams wisheth increase of all
Honor and Virtue.

Most honorable Lord, ha-
uing busied my self more
than two yeares in wri-
ting sundrie actions that
passed in our daies, espe-
ciallie the great actions
of the Netherlanders since the first arriuall
of Duke D'aluia, vntill the late sieges of
Sluce and Bergis, hauing resolued to print
and dedicate them vnto your Lordship: di-
uers occasions perswades me to craue par-
don for a time; assuring your Lordship, if
health and libertie permits leaue to pre-

A 2 sent

The Epistle Dedicatore.

sent them vnto your selfe in the French tongue : hoping by those meanes to bee rightlier indged, than I haue been hether-vnto. Introth, but for the negligence of a seruant that lost part of my discourses, I would not haue printed any thing without the whole, wherefore I haue taken boldnes to present your Lordship with some of my lost papers, humblie desiring you to accept them as from a Souldier that hath but small skill in writing or inditing; but could I doo better, assuredlie it should bee vnto your selfe, and shall bee in any thing I can per-forme. Beare with my faults, be assured of my loue, and command my life, next vnto my sacred Soueraigne & deare Countrie.

Your Lordships most boun-den to serue:

Roger VVilliams.



To all men of warre in generall.



Oble Souldiers of what qualitie soe-
uer, whereof discourse of the vertues
and vices that aduanceth and ouer-
throweth all actions, all that hath
their honor to lose may claime part
of the vertues, neither needs any to
be grieued at the vices unlesse they
condemne their selues guiltie; the
greatest Captaines of Europe can

Witnesse, that I robbed neither superiour nor companion of his
right, much lesse hath been ever my thoughts to wrong any
generall action: the which all or the most of you that knowe
me will beare witnesse, when my Netherlanders discourses
with others, comes out. I thinke Gonsalua was called the last
graund Captaine, but I perswade my selfe neither he nor any
other before him had neuer carried that name without the
seconding of a number of braue companions. The most wor-
thiest Cæsar although he was highlie ambitious, notwithstanding
in his Commentaries written by himselfe, hee imputed
part of his honor unto his Lieftenants and Officers. Where-
fore should not others doo at the least the like, being not Wor-
thiest to bee compared unto the basest sorte of his followers: no
honorable mindes can bee free from honorable ambition, but
the ambition may be such let the minde be ever so great, if he
robbeth the honor of his companions, he wrongs himselfe and im-
bates his action. Fewe men of iudgment but knowes it im-
possible for one man to conduct an Armie without Officers, &
unpossible for any state to knowe the worth of their Captaines
without being in action with great enemies: but for that triall

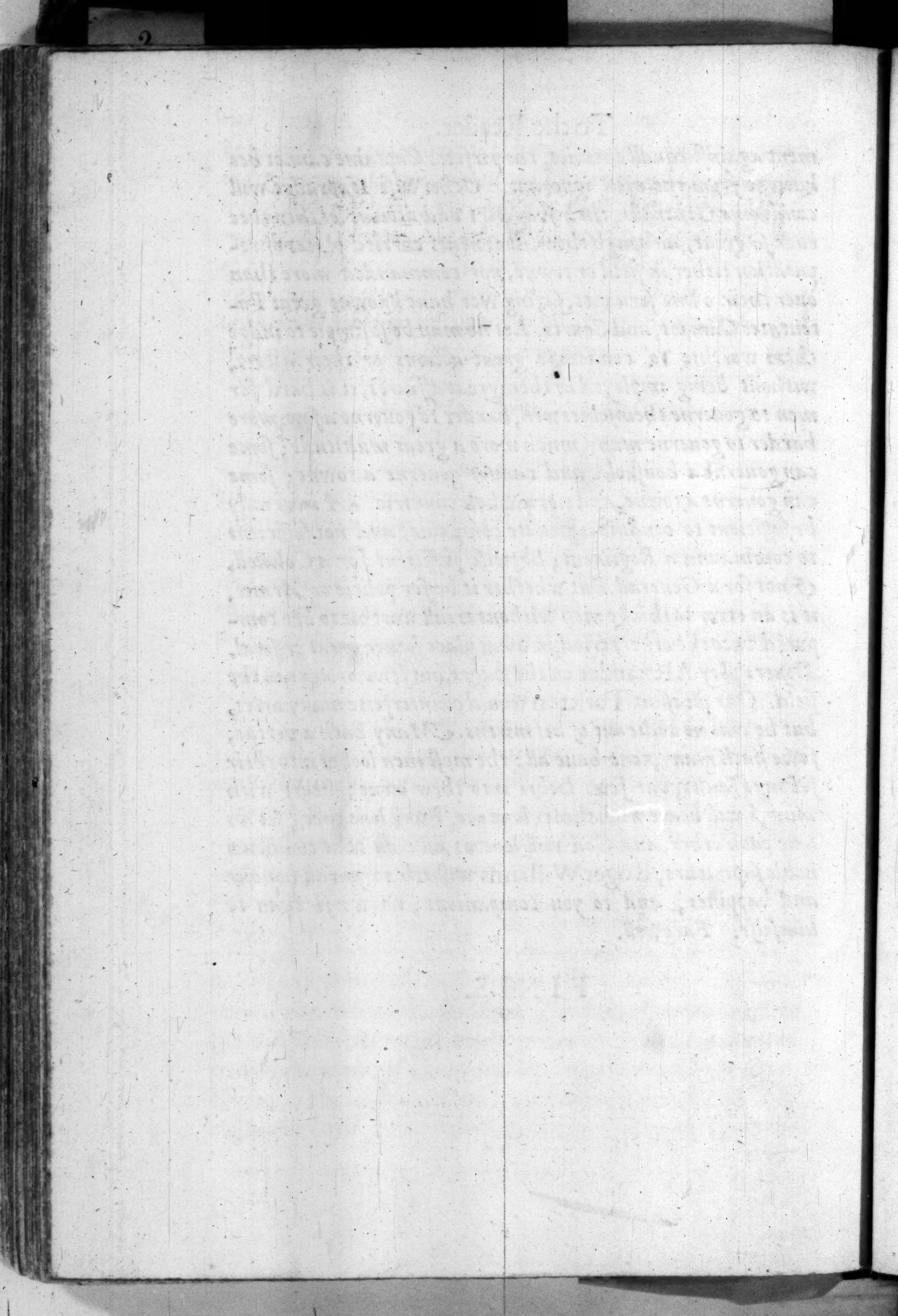
To the Reader.

the Parisians, Gauntois, Antwerpians and such, would onlie place squadrons in battailes, chuse grounds, march in what order you would, arme men in good order, fortifie & discourse, with other matters, to the shew, as though they had been great masters of Campes: but when they were tried with the furie of expert executioners, their warres prooued but May-games. Although I perswade my selfe my discourse to bee unpleasant with small iudgement: notwithstanding, being perswaded with honorable good friends, I tooke courage to print it: true it is, no action ought to be printed without the consent of sundrie Actors, or at the least by one principall, which ought to signe his Workes with his name, otherwise wee finde the most Actors wronged and robbed of the most of their reputation; some with enuie or malice, others with glorious ambition: sometimes you haue most honorable quiet estates wronged with ambitious follies, libells, the which are hardlie knowne and found out: but being signed by the author, deserues he well, the honor is his; if ill, the shame shall be his. Men of Warre ought to be more open hearted, more liberall, and more affable, than any other profession, although their secrets ought to be but unto fewe, their hearts must be open unto the multitude, and liberall to confesse good deserts as well as with their purses, although their resolutions be agreed on by two or three, notwithstanding the more affable they shewe themselues unto the multitude, the greater will be their voges and loues. Some tearme men wise for not speaking many words: true it is, idle speaches are windes and a disgrace unto the speaker; but bee they to good purpose, the more he speakes, the greater is his praise. You must thinke to repeate great actions, it requires many words, to perswade the fewe expert companions, to offend or defend a fewe words will serue: but to animate or dissuade the rude multitude, the more words and the oftner the better. We doo finde the most Conquerours were greatlie aduanced with the orations of their Orators, as well amongst the seruilest sort as the rude multitude: without speaches, the wise can not be discerned from the foolish, nor without triall of gouern-
ment

To the Reader.

ment against equall enemies, the perfects Captaine cannot bee knowne from the most ignorant. Otherwise ignorance will condemne Generalls, their followers and actions let them bee euer so great, althoough themselves neuer carried places of reputation either in field or towne, nor commanded more than ouer their owne seruants, saying wee haue knowne great Potentates Campes, and Courts. Let no man be so simple to iudge them worthie to condemne great actions or their actors, without being employed in their great affaires, it is hard for men to gouerne themselves well, harder to gouerne a few; more harder to gouerne many, much more a great multitude; some can gouerne a houſhold, and cannot gouerne a towne; some can gouerne a towne, and not a whole countrie. A man may be ſufficient to conduct a priuate compagnie, and not ſufficient to commaund a Regiment; likewife ſufficient for a Colonell, & not for a Generall. But whether it be for policie or Armes, it is an error to thinke men without triall worthie to bee compared unto the others tried, in what place ſoeuer great or ſmal. Diners play Alexander on the ſtages, but fewe or none in the field. Our pleasant Tarleton would counterfeite many artes, but he was no bodie out of his mirths. Many hath a vertue, fewe hath many, none haue all: the moft men lookeſ into their fellowes faulſes, but fewe lookeſ into their owne; beare with mine, I will beare with thine; loue me, I will loue thee; let vs loue each other, and God will loue vs all: on that condition noble ſuperiours, Roger Williams wiſheth to you all honour and happienes, and to you compagnions, no worse than to himſelfe. Farewell.

FINIS.





Experience and Learning must
confesse, all VVarres are maintained
with these three Principalls.

A good Chiefe;

A good Purse;

And good Justice.



LL consists in the Chiefe : where there is a good Chiefe, there is good Iustice ; and a braue Chiefe can not want a good Purse, if hee bee second with his Prince or Estate : if their purse faile, a braue Chief will force his Enemies Countreyes to maintaine his action , hauing a good quarrell ; with the sufferance of the great God.

Is he resolute and valiant ? All the rest of his Officers and Souldiers will resolute themselues, no coward shall be aduanced ; taking alwaies care vnto their words and deedes : assuring themselues, this resolute valiant Man will aduance vs, doo we deserue it : doo we ill, his Honor is such, he will not abide vs.

Is he liberall and constant : Then are all that serue vnder him stife to receiue their due, rather more than

lesse that come into his hands, & assured to be recom-
penced for their vigilant paines and trauell, and to be
partakers aswell with his honorable acts, as with his
liberal Purse: neither backbiter nor flatterer dares call
in question the name of a braue man, much lesse none
of his familiar acquaintance. If they shuld, then is the
other sure to come to his aunswere, and not bee con-
demned without great faults; as noble Sir Philip Sid-
ney was wont to say, *Let vs loue him for his small ver-
ties, for a number haue none at all.*

Is he couetous & miserable? He careth not what
wrong he doth to recover wealth, cause men to ende
their dayes in euerie light skirmish, wearie others
with wants and discutesies, keepe the Officers of his
Armie in pickes and quartels, cause them to disgrace
one another, lay al the fault on his fellowes, spare nei-
ther friend nor foe to recover wealth; it is vnpossible
for such a Chiefe to end any action honorablie: for
he respects the least of his bagges, more than his best
Captaine; and valures his crownes too good for his
brauest Souldiers. A multitude are not to be conten-
ted, without consuming great treasure; the sight of
his gold, & departing with his treasure wil cause him
to wish all his troupes dead to recover their dues. In
short time he will discredit his Estate and action.

Is he ambitious, in such sort that he thinkes none
to be valued vnto himself, & that al seruices are done
by himself; resolving none shalbe aduanced, but such
as flatter his humors, enuying all other mens fortune,
and vertues? That man careth not what becomes of
his State and Action, longer than they maintaine his
ambition, against all others, be it right or wrong.

Is he proud and vaine gloriouſ? Althoſe that ſerue vnder him, muſt flatter his fauorites to come vnto his ſpeech; when they come, there muſt be nothing contraried; if they doo, he will tearme them fooles, and his fauorites deuife faults to condenme them, to please his humors, and to maintaine his *Gloria Patri*.

It is almoſt vnpoffible for anie one to haue al theſe vertues; or for anie to be free from all theſe vices. To ſay troth, Ambition is giuen to men of warre, more than to anie other profeſſion: but let him be auſſured, wholouer hath it as I ſpeake off, ouerthroweth anie action, vntiſh the great God will haue the contraſte.

Somethinke it hard to know theſe men, because euery man thinketh himſelfe valiant and vertuous, or at the leaſt ſay honest & iuſt. Their valure muſt bee iudged by their deeds, not by their words; the reſt of their vertues are eaſier knownen, than theeues in a ciuill gouernment. Theeues are tried by God and their countrie; ſo oughe theſe great Captaines to be tried by the multitude that ſerues vnder them; eſpeciallie by their Officers in generall. Their feare cannot ſtop the rumor of the multitude, nor their bribeſ content few or none of the Officers, but ſuch as reſpect nei-ther honour nor vertue, and care not how they come by their fauor and welth, ſo they haue it.

Dutie, honor & welth, makes men follow the wars: when Generalls rob their inferiors of all three, often it makes honest mindes quit their ſeruice, & the diſhonest to ſerue their Enemies. None knowes the woorth of honest Souldiers, but ſuch as haue been in action with equal Enemies. Those that are moſt fur-niſhed with experimented Captaines, ſhall fiude it a

losse to lose few; but those that haue but few, shal find it a greater losse to loose anie at all :

How that all Conquests and Ouerthrowes consist in expert Souldiers, and euer did since the world began vnto this hower.

Some thinkes Commissions & authoritie is sufficient to conduct an Armie, and that Conquests and Ouerthrowes consist in multitude : let the Commissions be euer so large, the authoritie euer so great, the multitude euer so manie ; the Waires consists altogether in good Chiefs, & experimented Souldiers, & euer did since the world began to this houre. What caused *Alexander* to ouerthrow *Darius* with few men, considering his number ? but his valorous person, with the experience of his Captaines & Souldiers. What caused *Cesar* to ouerthrow *Pompey*, *Roman* to *Romane*, with farre lesser number ? because he had olde trained Legions, against more than halfe new leuied rawe men.

Our famous Kings *Henrie* the fist and *Edward* the third, gaue their Ouerthrowes with few, in respect of their Enimies.

Also *Charles* the fist with a few experimented Souldiers considering the number of the *Germaines*.

How often few or one is the occasion of the winning or loosing of a battaile.

IN our time, did not the Prince of *Conde* giue battel to the French King at the gates of *Paris*, to the Kings losse, to the honor of the small Troupe, being

ing not halfe a quarter so manie; where *Stewart* a Scottish Gentleman with a dozen Horsmen was one of the principallest occasions, by killing the Constable being their Generall.

At the Battaile of *Moerberhay*, where the worthie *Count Lodowicke of Nassau* was ouerthowne and killed; the Troupes of Spaniards being fearefull to fight, seeing the number of *Lodowickes* Horsmen, were onlie encouraged to charge resolutelie, by the Oration of *Sentia de vela*.

The shamefull Ouerthow at *Inbeleo*, where lesse than 600. Horsmen of *Don Iohn de Austria*, ouerthrew 15000. against reason, onelie for want of Chiefes to keepe order. The occasion of this charge came through a Captaine of Horsmen, which discouered their disorder of March, and procured the rest to followe, desiring leauue of *Octavia Gonzaga* his Generall, to charge.

At *Northorne* in *Freezeland*, two or three cowardlie captaines were the cause of the ouerthow of our Battaile with discouraging words, the Enemies horsmen and vanguard being broken.

The mutenous *Gauntoys & Iper*, did they not giue battaile in our fathers daies vnto a French King, and their Earle of *Flanders*: and did not this Prince of *Parma* with lesse than 8000. men conquer them like slaues? onelie because they were void of Chiefes, unexpert for warres, their braue warlike mindes changed vnto mechanickes.

Also the proud Towne of *Antwerpe*, which was left in good guard and discipline by the late famous Prince of *Orange* hauing in it better than 16000. as

well armed and in as good order as any Garrison in Europe, furnished plentifully with artilleric, munition, and all necessaries for warres; for want of Chieffes to direct them, this Prince of *Parma* made them slaves, with lesse than 8000. men.

The difference betwixt rawe men, and expert Souldiers.

VHAT is a multitude without Chiefes, but bodies without heads. Nations must not flatter themselues what they haue beeene, but what they are. The *Grecians*, & the *Macedonians* had the Monarchie, so had the *Romaines*, with others; what are they now? the people wanting their Chiefes, and their accustomed braue mindes. All these actions with the rest that haue been aforetime or in our dais, were executed by the lesser numbers; and the praise of euerie seuerall action, belonging vnto lesse than a dozen Chiefes. It is an errour to thinke that experimeted Souldiers are sodeinlie made like glasses, in blowing them with a pufse out of an iron instrumēt. There can be no Leaders of good conduct, vntles they haue been in foughten Battailes, alleiged and defended Townes of warre; the longer experied, the more perfected. The Duke of *Alua* was wont to say; In leesing of 100000 in 10. yeares action, there prooues not 20. famous Leaders. To conclude; a multitude without experimeted Leaders, that haue to warre, with expert Captaines, are to bee compared vnto a Nauie in a Tempest, without Masters or Pilots.

One noble opinion of Mounsieur de La
Nowe.

The famous Mounsieur de La Nowe was wont to say, It was necessary for the greatest Commanders, to giue eare often vnto all their vnder officers, I meane their simpleit Captaines, to heare their opinions, concerning their discipline in open audience. His meaning was noble without ambition: for in all Armies, there are a number of Captaines better Souldiers, than manie higher Officers; which can neuer be knowne without place to execute their art: which must be in action and audience before famous Superiours. These liberties & curtesies make a number employ their wits and valours daily to aduance their credites. It hindres no great Officers, vntesle they meane the warres should end with themselves; it aduaunceth the Warres, and Actions, when they are gone, other expert knowne men are placed in their roomes. This order must maintain good discipline, otherwise ignoraunce happens often into the high places, vnowne, vntill actions bee ouerthrown. Those will say, wee are expert and as valiant as the others; let them say and bee what they list, vntles they be knowne to be expert of action, it is not necessarie for a State to hazard their action in trying their experiance, and vknowne fortunes. What corrupted the discipline of Netherlanders? chieflie placing their ignorant cousins and fauorites to command. Who could haue won *Gant, Antwerp, Bridges, Iper*, with an 100 other towns, that wanted no necessaries for warres, if there had been expert Commanders in them.

These

These strong places were lost shamefullie without blowes, with twentie ouerthrowes in the field, with the like disorders. Therefore this noble *La Nowe* would say alwaies, *Checune a son mety*; as much to say, Euerie man ought to haue place according to his art. The martiall *Byron* would say also, These Coronells of three dayes, marres all the Armies of the world. Notwithstanding, it must be confess, that some quick spirates proue to bee expert with small actions: but so rarelie found, that it is dangerous to giue them charge before they be well knowne.

What makes the Spaniards discipline to be so famous as it is? their good order: otherwise it is well knowne, the Nation is the basest and cowardlie sort of people of most others; so base, that I perswade my selfe, ten thousand of our Nation, would beate thirtie of theirs out of the field, let them be chosen where they list; sauing some three thousand which is in the Lowe Countries. And those, for all they bee conduced by ancient expert Captaines, accompanied with other Nations, nothing inferiour to those Spaniards, both for valour and conduct; notwithstanding, the trained Troupes of our Nation did beate them alwaies number to number, both in Generall *Norris* his time, & sithence. In their Countreyes the world dooth knowe fife thousand of our Nation made guards at the gates of *Lisborne* fourc dayes, although there were in the Towne fife thousand Spaniards, foure thousand Portugeses carrying armes, besides they were assured of all the Burgesses, for they had sent into *Spaine*, & kept in the Cytadell, their wiues, children, and chieflie goods. Also by reason of our

Armie,

Armie staying in *Galitia*, where 6000. of ours ouerthrew 16000. of theirs. Before we arriued at *Lisborn*, they had 20. daies respit to arme and put themselues in order; but had our Armie not touched at the *Groin*, & sailed streight to *Lisborne*, as the Earle of *Essex* did, neither Soldier nor Captain can deny, but the towne had been ours; for it was vnmanned, without anie good order: & when we arriued, had our Nauie entred, we would haue entred the Towne, or the world should haue witnessed, so manie Englishmen had bin buried in that place. But let all the Captaines of *Europe* iudge rightlie of our proceedings from the first to the last, considering our smal meanes & great crossees, they cannot denie, but both our valor & gouernment, deserued an 100. times more praise, than the attempt of Duke *Medina*, and his on *England*: notwithstanding they wanted neither men, victuals, munition, nor money. Also the world knowes, we were not set out with our Souereignes royal Forces; notwithstanding we gaue them the law 30. daies in their Countries. When sicknesse with other wants forced vs to imbarke, being followed with their Armie, wee returned towards them with lesse than 4000. Where the Earle of *Essex* sent his Trumpet, to dare their Generall the Countie of *Fuentes*, to find himselfe in the head of his troupes, to change the blowes of the pikes, giuing him signall of his attire and feathers: so did Generall *Norris* command the Trumpet to tell them our small number, and to dare their whole Forces to battaile: but the cowardlie besonions perceiving our resolution, before we could arriue within 3. miles of them, all their footmen ran away to *Lisborne*, being 3.

for one. *Fuentes* with *Don Gabriel de Ninis* knowing we had vnder fiftie horsmen, staid where they were incamped, hauing with them at the least 600. horse-men: notwithstanding, the alarne beeing giuen vs, the Earle, and Genetall *Norris*, with the most of the Chiefs, giuing order to our Squadrons to keepe in that order we marched, and to march with all spedde to recover the top of a hill, a fine place to giue battell, assigned vnto them by the Trumpet, within halfe a league of their quarter. The Earle, General, & Chiefs with the horsmon, aduanced with speed to the top of the hill, both to discouer the Enemies order, and to choose a commodious place to fight. At their sight, wee perswaded our selues by their fashion to receiue battaile, our ensignes being displaied on the top of the hil, and our squadrons possessing the ground that we thought most fit: after resting a while, and perciuing their cowardlie resolution, aduanced our battaile towards their quarter, vnowne to vs but that al their Forces had been in that village. At our approch, they ran away in such sort, that our horsmen (being but 50 in al, amongst whom were diuers of our Chiefs, besides the Earle and his brother) made two hundred of them runne awaye that they kept in the Reregard. This proofe with diuers others, had wee on them in our *Portingall* voyage.

But to speake troth, no Armie that euer I saw, passes that of *Duke de Parma* for discipline & good order: the which & it pleased others to follow, it were not amisse. And to that ende I thought good to shew some part of the discipline and orders amongst them. None comes to be high Officers, vntill they be kno-

wen to bee expert and tried Souldiers of action, of long continuance; or for courtesie to grace their Armies with young Princes, or Nobilitie, or at the least Gentlemen of good qualities; neither must these contemne the basest Master of their Campe. For all their birth, they must be knowne valiant, and of good discretion. These Noble men are placed Generalls of horsmen, or commaund a Cornet; but they will bee sure to looke, that their vnder Officers shall be expert and knowne men; they shall not choose their owne fauorites & followers: which maketh them to maintein the like discipline, when they come to be expert themselves: for without doubt, none can command so well, as those which haue been commanded.

Their State is gouerned with two sorts of people, Captaine and Clergie. As the Captaines ambition perswades the King to encrease his warres, to maintaine their estate in wealth and greatnes, so doth the Clergie perswade him also to warres, to maintein their State, against them of Religion. By this meanes the State of *Spaine* during this gouernment can neuer be without warres, and continuall warres must make expert Souldiers.

The long continuance of their

Armie.

THis Armie of the Prince of *Parma* hath beeene in action vnbroken, since *Charles* the fift his troubles against the *Germaines*. They haue continued in the *Lowe Countreyes* three and twentie yeares.

When the Duke D'auia brought them thether, hee
 found them readie disciplined in Regiments, vnder
 Ensignes & Cornets, although the Gouernors, Cap-
 taines and Soldiers, were changed with casualties of
 warres: notwithstanding the Armie was continual-
 lie maintained with one purse & discipline from the
 first houre vnto this, which must be about 50. yeares.
 For that time, wee must confesse, none had the schole
 of warres continuallie, but themselves. Their actions
 shewes their discipline, which were not aynise for
 others to followe. Their order is, where the W arres
 are present, to supplie their Regiments being in A ction,
 with the Garrisons out of all his Dominions and
 Prouinces: before they dislodge, besonios supply their
 places, raw men, as we rearne them. By these meanes
 he traines his besonios, and furnisheth his Armie with
 trained Souldiers: yet though these Garrison men be
 well trained Soldiers, God knowes they are but raw
 men for a long time, in respect of the men of Action:
 then iudge you, what difference there is betwixt ex-
 pert Souldiers and raw. In my poore iudgement, (as
 I shewed before) all their discipline consists in the
 Spanish. They maintaine also certaine companies of
 ordinances, chieflie to content the Nobilitie, as I will
 shew hereafter; they keep in good order their *Caual-
 leri, Italians, Burgonians and Albaniates*, for their great
 numbers I meane, to supplie their Armies, as occasi-
 on presents. They make most account of the *Wallons*,
Burgonians & Italians: for the *Almaines* they care not,
 but will hire them onelie to serue their turne, when
 their Enemies leauie *Germanies* against them. They
 haue great reason; for as long as any Prince or Estate
 keepes

keepes continuallie 7000. expert footmen, and 3000. horsmen, though his leuied Armie be 50000. the ten thousand will both discipline them, & keepe them in order: for out of the 10000. he may draw continuallie a 100. or two experimeted Souldiers to make Officers, to traine the others. Besides hee places diuers great Officers out of his assured 10000. amongst his mercenaries; in the which he shewes great disciplines; for there can bee no daungerous mutenie in anie Armie, vnles some of the Chiefe be priuie vnto it; and easilie preuented if it be discouered; & cannot be but discouered by reason of this good order.

How they diuide their Armies.

They diuide their Armies into Regiments. All the Spanish Colonells are tearmed, Masters of the Campe. Although all their Armie be diuided into Regiments, be they neuer so many colonels, there are none tearmed *M. del Campo*, but the Spanish. Although there are but foure *Tertias* Spanish, which are called *de la Lyge*, *de Lumbardy*, *de Naples*, & *de Flandrie*; to grace the Spanish, they giue often the name of *M. del Campo* vnto others, but neuer aboue sixe at a time, the which must bee famous. *Mondragon* being Colonell of the *Wallons* afore *Serexe*, for his famous seruice was called *M. del Campo*, so was *Ionas Oria*, ha- uing no Regiment, for his famous seruice at *Malta* and in other places.

These foure *Tertias*, when they are most, are scarce 6000. strong, they make vp their 10000. I named before with *Burgonians*, *Italians* & *Wallons*. One of these

Tertia, when the Duke of Alua came downe, was
 called *Tertia de Sardinia*. For their disorder, the Duke
 executed their Captaines in *Amsterdam*, in *Holland*,
 cassid the *Tertia*, entertaining the Souldiers a newe.
 To keepe the honour of the braue Souldiers, they
 termed this *Tertia*, *Tertia Veche*, to giue example vnto
 others. It is necessarie to remember this discipline,
 with other, executed by the Duke of *Alua*. This
Tertia of *Sardinia* had to their Colonell a valiant
 Captaine, named *Don Gonsalo de Drakemont*, beeing
 commanded to *Frizeland*, against *Lodowicke* the worthe
 Count of *Nassau*, brother to the famous Prince
 of *Orange*: to stop his course, Duke *d' Alua* sent Sir
John de Lamy Count de *Aranberge* Chief, with other
 troupes of horse and foote. Besides this *Tertia* being
 approached, Count *Lodowicke* vnderstanding his
 strength, *Aranberge* would haue staied where hee
 was, vntill the arriuall of the Count *de Megem*, the
 which would haue ioyned with him that night with
 more forces. The ambition of this Colonell and
 Captaines was such, they forced Count *Aranberge*
 with vrging words touching his reputation and cre-
 dite, both to approach and charge some of *Lodowicks*
 troupes, the which brought them into an Ambush
 where *Lodowicke* was: who defeated them in route,
 leauing Count de *Aranberge* dead in the place, with
 diuers other Chiefes. At their retурne, Duke *d' Alua*
 rewarded them, as I shewed you before.

Another time a great Regiment of *Almaine* mu-
 tined for want of pay: in their outrage they spoyled
 Count *Laderne*, their owne Colonell. Duke *d' Alua*
 called them into a field, both to be mustred and to re-
 ceiue

ceiue their payes, Into this place he commanded also all his Caualerie with other footmen to come. The mutinous Regiment being viewed with Commissaries, he placed the horsemen in Squadrons round about them, commanding them to charge them like enemies, vntill they would deliuer the mutiners into his hands. The poore *Almaines* seeing themselues deceiued, fearing the furie of the horsemen, deliuered ynto him all that hee demaunded. To revenge their mutinie, and to maintaine discipline, he executed of them 200. Since that time wee cannot learne that the *Almaines* mutined in the *Spanish* Armie.

Their great Officers in order as they command.

IN the absence of the Captaine Generall, the high Marshal or master of the Campe general commandeth all. After him, the Generall of the horsemen: after him, the Generall of the Artillarie: after him, the eldest Master of the Campe: next vnto the Masters *del Campo*, the Lieftenant generall of the horsemen: after him, the Lieftenant of the Artillarie. These Officers direct the field: for the rest of the Colonells and Officers, none meddle further than his owne particular charge, vntesse they bee anthonised. Although the Threasurer at warres bee an honorable place commanded by no bodie, but by the Captaine generall, hee nor none of the others meddle with the Martiall discipline; I meane the Auditories, Comissaries, Muster masters, & such. Touching the charge and dueties of the Captaine Generall, and the other great Captaines, I referre it vnto the famous warriers which wrote it often before.

What

*What other Officers ought to second their
great Officers.*

THe office of the Marshall, is painfull and great, for he medleth with the whole affaires of the warres; he hath to serue and to helpe him, the Serieant maior, Quarter masters, Prouoits, & Captaine of the Spions.

The General of the horsmen hath to serue him, his Lieutenant, Colonels, Captaines, and Scoutmasters.

The Generall of the Artillerie, his Lieutenant, Commissaries of munitions, Gentlemen of the Artillerie, Colonell of Pioners, Trench-masters, and Carriage-masters.

The Treasurer is chiefe of all the others: hee, the Auditor, Muster-masters, Commissaries aswell for musters, as for victualls, deliuer their accounts onelie vnto the Captaine generall, or to his Deputie authorised by him for the vse of the King. There is also one Secretarie authorised by the King, who lookes into all their dealings, and knowes all the secret onlie that passeth betwixt the King & the Captain general.

This Secretarie hath alwaies diuers blankes signed by the King. With those blanks they haue redressed sodainlie many disorders which could not haue bin done, if they had been forced to stay to knowe the Kings pleasure.

*The greatnes of their Generall, and Obeysance
vnto his King.*

Although the General hath his commission absolute from the King, to alter, to redresse place, & to displace

displace whome hee lists, as occasion preuents: Notwithstanding he doth nothing, without the aduise & consent of his counsaile of warre, if hee should, he is sure to be despised and contemned, not onely by his counsaile of warre, but by his whole Armie in gene-
rall; who will not faile to appeale vnto the King, and Estate of *Spaine*, which redresseth presentlie anie dis-
orders. For sodain dispatches, the King hath his coû-
saile of warre seuerallie for euerie of his Kingdomes
and Prouinces, where he hath occasion to vse Vice-
roys or Captaine Generalls. All these Counsailes of
warres both in *Spaine* and abroad, are expert & prin-
cipall Captaines, sauing a fewe Diuines and Ciuilians
ioyned with them, to aduise and redresse their high
mindes and ambition; the which is done easier and
better by wise perswasions, than by extreame iustice:
for if iustice were executed to the vttermost, fewe
great Captains should liue. The most great Captaines
cannot denie, but their profession ouer-reacheth the-
selues, more than any other; because al their speaches,
deedes, and mindes consists in ambition for honour,
seking to ouerthrow al estates, to aduance their own,
weighing no perill in respect of fame.

I speake this for Captaines in generall: but there
are honest, vertuous, & iust, yet so fewe that the num-
ber must bee imbraced, els the multitude of the ene-
mies would bee too to manie for the fewe friends. If
a Captaine be a good counsellor in warre, a good ex-
ecutioner, or a good engioner, he ought to be imbra-
ced, and as noble Sir Philip Sidney said, borne withall,
vnlesse his faults are too intollerable.

How they diuide their Horsemen.

They diuide their Caualerie into an 100. vnder a Cornet. Vnles it be their two Generalls, the most of the aduantagers and aduenturers march vnder the high Generall, so doo all his domestiques. When he is in person in the field, his Cornet is alwaies foure or fiue hundred ; they giue feuerall commissions vnto Launtiers, and to the Hargulatiuers, to fiue hundred Launtiers they ioyne 100. Hargulatiuers, they keepe that rate from the lesser number vnto the greatest. These Launtiers are called light horsemen, notwithstanding they are aswel mounted as the men at armes for one horse a peece, and aswell armed, sauing the barbd for their greues and maces : the most carrie one pistol, but al carrie a curtilace, I meane a good broad sword. Their Hargulatiuers are also well mounted for 1. horse a peece, more than half curaces of the proofe; with an open burgonet, or *Millaine* marrions ; manie haue pistols besides their peeces, but al haue good curtilaces. Both Launtiers and Hargulatiuers haue all cassockes, euerie Companie feuerall colours to bee knowne.

The diuisions of their foote Bands.

Their commissions for foote Bands are like vnto ours, some Ensignes 300. some 200. the most of an 150. Euery hundred hath fortie armed men, of which there must be thirtie pikes, the 10. others, are halberds and targets of the proofe ; al their Gentlemen & vantagers

tagers are armed men, the most carrie the pike, ha-
ving plasterons of the proose, I mean the fore part of
the armour, the 60. others are shot. In the latter daies
of Duke D^r alua 25. of euerie hundred, were commā-
ded to bee Musketters. With their armed pikes and
musketters, they execute most of their seruices. They
found such seruice in the musket, that this Prince of
Parma hath the most of his shot musketters.

The order of their marching.

When the Armie marcheth, one commaunds
the vanguard, another the battaile, the third
the rereward. None of these, nor of the Of-
ficers appoynted with them, whatsouer occasiō pre-
senteth, although their fellowes were in fight, dares
break out of his place to offer to fight, without com-
mandement from the Principall. If the Generall bee
in person, he is knowne by a signall, like vnto a Cor-
net, which is carried hard by him. As he sends often
to know the State of his Armie in all the quarters, so
doo they send others vnto him, as occasion presents,
both to acquaint him of their Estate, & to knowe his
direction. To giue equal honor vnto al their troupes,
they alter their marches euerie seuerall march. Hee
that had the vanguard to day, to morow is to haue the
rereward, the third the battaile. When occasion pre-
sents to diuide their Armie into seuerall parts to doo
some employtes in surprising some Towne, Castle,
Fortresse, or other to giue camisadoes, or reincoun-
ter troupes, either at their lodgings, or in their march,
they send two of qualitie, according to the number

of the Troupes that go, the one commands the horse-men, the other the footmen; but one is obeied chiefe, in as ample authoritic, as the Captaine generall himselfe, vntill they returne into their Armie. They haue great reason; for it is impossible for two Chiefeſ to agree, hauing equall authoritic.

The order of their Sieges.

When they assiege any place, they incampe at the first out of the danger of the enemies Artillerie: before they make any approaches, they do what they can to make sure either with Forts or Trenches all the passages, I meane the coming in aswell to their Campe, as to the Towne or place assieged. If there be any riuer or passage by waſter, they will bee ſure to stop it with Forts, Artillerie, Stockathos, Pallisathos. If they can make a bridge to paſſe ouer horse and foote, with all neceſſarics from one ſide vnto the other: if they can they will not faile to make waies round about the place alsieged to march with horse and foote. If there be any paſſages ſtrong by nature, ſtreights through woods, hills, or with waters, although it bee a dozen miles from their Campe, they will build ſtrong Forts, ſufficient with a ſmall guard to abide the furie of an Armie without batterie. At one of these places will they giue battaile, rather than leauē their ſiege, if the partie be to their aduantage: by this means they will be ſure to haue ſhorte hours libertie to reſolute, whether they will fight or retire; as they did at *Muncier*, at *Cambria*, and at other places. Count *Lodowicke* being in

in *Mounce*, well accompanied, especiallie with good Chiefes; for he had with him the famous Captaines *Mounsier de la Nowe*, *Mounsier de Poiet*, *Mounsier de Roucres*. Notwithstanding, Duke d' *Alua* intrenched his Armie before it so stronglie, that he was able to send out halfe his men to do exploytes where it pleased him. When the Prince of *Orange* incamped hard by him with equall forces, he neuer stirred his Armie, by reason of his trained Souldiers, vndid him with a Camisado, forced him to retire. So did he also send *Chappine Vitelly* out of his Armie, with sufficient forces into the streight towards *Valentia*, who defeated *Mounsier Iohn de Lise*, which marched to the succours of *Mounce* with 7000. Frenchmen. Also at *Cambria* this Prince of *Parma* abided the Armie of *Mounsier de Lanson* to come in sight, although he resolued to retire, sending his Artillerie, munition and baggage out of danger: he staied to see the order of his march, seeing the partie vnequall who marched in good order, he retired orderlie without ingageing any fight. If they thinke the place assiegued too well manned, or the scate such by nature, that batterie can doo no good, they will blocke it vp with Fortes in such sort, that halfe their Armie will be sufficient to assiege it, they will be sure to place the rest in the best quarters for victualls and forage, although it be three daies iourney from the place assiegued: as they did at *Antwerpe*, *Gaunt*, *Iper*, *Berke*, & other places. By these meanes they relieue their wearied troupes with fresh at their pleasures. If there be troupes making head to leauie their siege, they will ioyne closer together, as occasions present: if they batter, they approach care-

fullie with trenches a farre off, spare neither Pioners nor cost to saue their Soldiers. Before they place their Batterie, they mount Culuerings, and other peeces to beate the flankes and defences : if there bee not high grounds aduauntagious to doo it, they will bee sure whatsoeuer it cost, to raise mounts for the purpose. If the Bulwarkes be such that the flankes cannot bee taken away with their peeces, they will lay batterie at once both to Bulwarke and Curten; for the Soldiers may lawfullie refuse to assault, vntill the flankes be taken away : neither will the Chieffes offer it; for some of them must leade them.

The order of their Assaults.

BEING readie to assault, to giue equall honour vnto all the troupes, the Regiments hurle the Dice who shall haue the poynt, the first charge we call it : lightlie the Chiefe that commanded that quarter will aske it as his right, because his troupes are most spoyled by reason of their neere guards and approaches. Most often he hath it : being giuen him, he deuides his troupes to second one the other, according to the widenes of the breach, they respect the honor of the poynt, that the Captaines will not giue place one vnto the other more than their Colonells, but by fortune of the Dice. They need not bee so earnest for the matter, because the greatest warriours accompt the first troupe that entreth a breach in more danger, than the first troupe that must charge in their severall battailes. They haue reason ; for I knowe it by good experience, whether they enter or retire the most of them

them are killed, if the defenders bee honest men, I
 meane any thing valiant. They may haue two or
 three breaches, but at euerie one they keepe the one
 order. Before the armed men aduance to the assault,
 they place their Musketiers as neere to the breach as
 they can, lightlie they make mounts higher than the
 defendants: in those and in trenches before the Ar-
 tillerie they place all their small shot. Before they giue
 an assault, they send sundrie Officers and Souldiers
 armed of Musket proofe and good iudgement to dis-
 couer the breaches: when they giue the assaults, if
 they bee not pell mell with the defendants, their Ca-
 noniers, flankes the breach ouer their heads, both
 from the batterie, & with their flanking peeces, they
 line their armed men that haue the first poynt with
 Musketiers armed of the proofe. At these assaultes
 both sides lightlie shoote al the vilest shot they can in-
 uent, both to pierce Armes and to cut off Pikes, chai-
 ned bullets, Dice of steele couered with lead: lightlie
 they giue their assaults generall at once, I meane at all
 their breaches & mines, if the ground serue to mine.
 To discourage the defendants, they haue messengers
 of credite on horsebacke, if they can passe, which
 runne from breach to breach crying, courage the
Tertia de la Leige is entered: So at the other breaches
 the like, that *Tertias* of *Lumbardy* or *Naples*, or others
 are entred, when there is no such matter. When
 those that giue the first charge begin to retire or wax
 colde, the great Officers command their seconds to
 the assaults; finding fault with the rest, telling them,
 it is yon fellowes must doo it: with these stratagems
 and wordes, they make the poore Souldiers break
 their

their neckes at their pleasure. But to speake troth, the Spanish discipline is verie gratefull vnto the men of warre; for want of present places to aduaunce their valiant men of vertue according vnto their deserts, they giue them aduantages of payes, with encouraging wordes and assured promises of the first places that fall voide. If a Colonell, Captaine, or any other Officer vnder them, leeseth his whole Regiment or Companie in Battaile, Assault, Skirmish, or in any other seruice commaunded vnto by their superiours; although the troupe be defeated, those that returne, are sure to remaine in pay, and the Colonell or Captaine haue present Crownes to recomfort his troupe. If the Regiment or Companie be cashed, all the Officers are surelie enroulled in their owne payes they had before. A cashed Colonell, Captaine, or Officer, will never take baser charge than they had before, but will serue priuatlie, vntill occasion presents to aduance them vnto the places they had before. As they are bound to followe the warres, where they receiue their relifes; so haue they libertie to followe whom they list, vnles they bee commanded to the contrarie: the greatest part will followe the Cornet royall, some the Generall of the Horsemen, others the high Marshall, others the Master of the Campe, as they be affected and minded. Likewise the cashed Souldiers are placed in their former payes, vnder other Colonells. None of these cashed Officers are bound vnto anie duetie, sauting fighting; I meane to guard or watch: but the most part will doo it orderlie, better than the bound men, to shewe example vnto others: persuading themselves he that excels his fellowes, is honest aduanced.

aduanced. Their vsage hath beene such, that I mer-
uaile all professions in Spaine desires not to bee Soul-
diers. Charles the first being before *Metz* in *Lorraine*,
his Armie being in miserie and extreame sicknesse,
his Souldiers would openlie rail on him, especiallie
his Spanish would call him the sonne of the madwo-
man, with all the vile words they could devise, yet he
would not heare them, but threw Crownes amongst
them, saying to his nobilitie, harken these knaues, yet
let me call the worst by his name, hee will not refuse
to doo any thing for mee, though it cost him his life.
Also the Duke of *Alua*, when the Burghmasters of
Holland presented a petition vnto him of the disor-
der of the Spaniards; amongst other foolish articles,
they shewed him how they wold haue their napkins
changed twice at a meale. Hee answered, you must
think, al those which caine with me, wer not broght
vp amongst Burghers. To say troth, God helpe that
man of warre, that hath all his deeds and words con-
strued to the worst, considering what casualties there
are in warres aboue all other places. Often choler al-
treath honest mindes, to day rich, to morrowe poore,
now happy, anone vnhappie. Although their disci-
plinc in martiall actions be most famous, and worthy
to bee followed of all others, notwithstanding their
gouernment is so vile and tyrannous, that no people
is able to abide it, vnles they be too base minded. For
example, the Castilian of *Gaunt*, hauing occasion to
execute 3 or 4 offenders: to terrifie the multitude, he
did it openlie in the market place; by chaunce a scaf-
fold fel downe, at the which there grew a great noise
and rumor: sodainlie without more adoo, the Casti-

lian drew his syword, crying ~~advertoit~~ to his Souldiers; The soldiers most sauagely discharged a salu of har- gubusaides on the poore people; with shot & sword they killed and hurt aboue an hundred. Complaint being made vnto the Duke *D'alu* their Gouernour; his answere was, he was sorie the falt was done with out desert, notwithstanding hee punished no bodie: thinking it a good meanes to terrifie a mutinous po- pular (as he rearmed them). Another time, the Master of the Camps companie, *Julian Romero*, being in gar- rison in the towne of *Macklen*, his *Alfere* beeing in loue with a gentlewoman, could not obtain her loue; on a May day, he and his companie armed, came vnto her fathers house, vnder the colour of Maying, tooke her away by force: her friends and kinsmen making what stirre they could to saue her, with the disorder of the *Alfere* & Souldiers, divers were kil- led and hurt. Complaint being made, no man was ex- ecuted, but perswasions vnto the parties to take pati- ence, shewing them what an offence it was, to stir a- gainst a flying Ensigne of the King their Lord. The *Alfere* was banished for a few daies, notwithstanding he enjoyed his loue, & his fauour with his Gouernor in a short time. Another time, a Sericant of *Sentia Da- villa* Castilian of *Antwerpe*, rode vp and downe *Ant- werpe* on a footcloth of veluet, mandilion & hose im- brodered with gold letters, the contents of the words in Spanish, *Gafador de los Flamingos*; as much as to say in English, A Scourge for the Flemings: a number complained, but none had redresse. Such is their go- vernment in all places where they command with ci- tadelles, garrisons, fortresses or forces; the least Sericant

of a Band, being a nativall Spaniard, will seeme to com-
mand the greatest man of qualitie of anie other Na-
tion, vñles he command forces himselfe. Let the for-
ces be euer so great; although it be 40 or 50000 land
of the, but 2 or 1000 Spaniards, it must be called the
Spanish Armie. When they come first out of Spaine,
either to Italie, Flaunders, or anie other places, they be
the simplest besonios (as they terme them) that can bee
fond of any other Nation; the most are appalled
by the Gouernours, before they enter the Countries, to
saue the honor of the Nation. Let them continue any
time in pay, the simplest of the will compare in pride
with any Captaine of other Nations; and diuers ras-
talls must be called, Signor of such a place, meaning
the next towne or village that he was borne vnto, ha-
ving neither land nor house of his owne. Besides the
tyrannous Inquisition is maintained by that Nation,
principallie in Spaine to bridle Princes and Nobilitie;
which oþerwise haue so great libertie by their anci-
ent customes, that diuers of them owe but small sub-
jection vnto their King: as for abroade as well as in
Spaine, they make whom they list slaves & prisoners
at their pleasures, without triall of Justice: neither
shall the parties knowe, who accused them, nor what
is laide to their charge, more than it is the will of the
holy Inquisition. With their diuileish Inquisition,
they take mens goods at their pleasure. With their
Bulls, and other paltrie deuises, poysoning, murther,
breaking oathes and promises, may bee pardoned by
the Pope. Their religion is such, where they sub-
due Kingdomes or Countries, either by right, policie,
or Armes, if they finde anie of great qualitie that ca-
ndignol

ries a voge, to command populer or men of warre; let their seruice and deserts be neuer so great, vnlles they be sure of them, in such sort to obey all those, that carie their commissions and directions, bce they never so basely or vilelie directed, they wil be sure to make them away with poyson or murther, for iustice can take no place, I meane touching all strangers; sauing their owne Nation.

For example, the Marquis of *Marimian*, after they gaue him aduancement, *Charles* the fist wrote letters to execute him, which were discouered by the Marquis. Likewise, the Duke of *Bourbon* hauing wonne the battaile of *Pavia*; fearing his greatnesse, *Charles* caused his Armie to mutine against him, with other disgraces vnderhand to vndoo him; if the Duke had not taken resolution to sacke *Rome*, to content the men of warre. Also the braue Count *Egmont* with others of his nation, for all their seruice wett executed most cruellie by Duke *D'aluia*; and the Marquis of *Berges* with *Mountenier* poysoned in *Spaine*, onlie to bring to passe their determination against the Netherlanders. Also Marke *Anthoine Colono*, whose house and himselfe, followed alwaies the house of *Austria*, being Vice Roy of *Naples*, reputed and feared for the greatest Captaine in *Italie*, was sent for into *Spaine*; and before he could speake with the King, he was poysoned in his way to the Court. The last day, two or three Noble men *Porteguises*, taking Armes, made to the Sea coast, hauing discouered Sir *Francis Drakes* Fleet; the Spanish perceiving their greatnes, executed one Count, and poysoned the other; although some of them were the men that sought

sought to bring them into the Countre, and most assured them. Looke also to their proceedings with *Naples* and *Millain*, the wrongs to *Francis Fureza*, *Ferdinando of Aragon*, with diuers other the like actions. This discipline and gouernment daa I knowe by good experiance, for I serued vnder the Ensignes of the *M. del Campo Julian Romero* 22. moneths, & *Mondragon* 18. moneths, with the domestiques of the braue *Don Iohn de Austria* eight moneths, alwaies in action. As I said before their discipline must be good for good Chickes makes good Souldiers.

The least of thirtie Commaunders they had alwaies amongst them, were sufficient to command 10000. Souldiers. A Campe continuallie maintained in action, is like an Vniuersitie continuallie in exercises, when famous Schollers dye, as good or better step in their places. Especially in Armies, where there be euerie day newe inuentions, stratagems of warres, change of weapons, munition, and all sort of engins newlie inuented, and corrected dailie.

Some may aske me, as I did *Philip de Comines* in reading his booke, where he speakes much to the praise of *Lewis the xj.* but nothing how he quited his Duke of *Bourgondie*: true it is, at the defeate of *Harlam*, Colonell *Morgan* and his Regiment were discharged from the Prince of *Oranges* seruice, my selfe being one: arriuing in *England*, the said Colonell with a number of others, were imployed into *Ireland*. At that instant the Prince of *Condie* was newlie escaped out of *France* into *Germanie*: I hauing nothing to do, hearing the saide Prince meant to returne into *France* with an Armie, my selfe and fourt other compa-

nions, resolved to imploye our seruice with that Prince, being in *Germanie* with small purses, finding the Prince not able to march in sixe moneths, hauing no meanes to liue, wee returned for *England*, passing through *Lier* in *Brabant*, we were brought before the Master of the Campe *Julian Romero*, ywho entertained mee with such courtesie, that I remained with him. Thus did I enter into the *Spaniard's* warres, and doo think it no disgrace for a poore Gentleman that liues by warres, to serue any estate that is in league with his owne.

To prooue Launtiers more serviceable than men at Armes, considering the numbers that doo duerries.

THe difference betwixt the men at Armes, companies of Ordinances, as they teatme them, and the Launtiers, called by the strangers Light Horsemen, by vs Demilances. I must confesse a companye of men at Armes, to bee the most honorablest priuate charge that a man may haue in the Warres, principallie because these charges are giuen vnto Princes, Nobilitie, or men of great qualties in the warres. To enerie seuerall Companie belongeth one Ensigne, one Guydon, and one Comet; the Ensigne ouer the men at Armes, the Guydon ouer the Archiers, the Comet ouer the Light Horsemen. Considering the number of hands to come to fight, and to doo duerrie, I perswade my selfe the greatest warriers thinke the Launtiers more profitable and more serviceable: my reasons are these: a man at Armes ought to haue fve horses, for euerie horse hee re-

ceives as much pay as a Launtier : commonlie the
 men of Armes makes no conuoyes that belongs vnto
 an Armie, the most of them are men of qualite, (as
 we termie men of warre) either gentle or cashed Of-
 ficers, wherefore they are fauoured for their skoutes,
 guards and watches. If they be commauaded to any
 of these dutties, out of their fve horses, it is much if
 they send three, commonlie one and two : halfe of
 them keepes but foure horses, the most thre, the rest
 is loaden with baggage; perhaps lanadiades, sufficient
 with curtesie to passe the Musters, being trimmed vp
 with helpe of their witnesses, how they were hurt in
 seruice, and deuises. Lightlie they are not coman-
 ded to march, vntesse the Armie dislodges : if they
 do, Cornets of Launtiers and Hargulatiuers are com-
 manded with them. The men of Armes never breake
 their soft paces, vntesse they charge or retire, the o-
 thers often are commanaded to great marches, so doo
 employtes, Caualgaide, (as the straungers scarce it) be-
 sides, they must skoute, discouer, with all dutties that
 belongs vnto an Armie, either in lodging or march,
 and fights often, when the men of Armes see no Ene-
 mie; when they doo fight, lightlie, it is a battaile, then
 the Launtiers receiue and giue the first blowes. The
 first charge being well conducted, and directed, tryes
 the most of the fortune of a daies seruice, 100. men at
 Armes are as chargeable as 500. Launtiers, and do not
 the duttie, neither in fights nor guards as halfe so ma-
 nie. Touching the barbd, (I meane the arming of
 their horses) I thinke it to little purpose, seeing all
 squadrons of Pikes be lined wth Muskietiers or Ca-
 livers; the lesser of both pearceth any arming that
 horses

horses vse to carrie. In stead of Maces the Launtiers
 may carrie one Pistoll, the which is lighter and farrre
 more terrible, had wee thrice the force wee haue in
 these daies. True it is, it is necessarie, for the shooke of
 a horse to weare a little Cuisset to couer the knee, so
 ought all the Launtiers to be. We know it by expe-
 riencie; let a horseman bee armed, the forepart of his
 curaces of a light pistoll prooffe, his head peecce the
 like, two lames of his pouldrons the like, two or
 three lames of his tases of the like prooffe, the rest I
 meane his tases, cuisses, pouldrons, vambraces, and
 gauntletts, bee also so light as you can devise. With
 one pistoll these kinde of arming shall be found hea-
 uie for the most men, to carrie all day long, and too
 heauie for the most horses to carrie tennie houres to-
 gether, and to doo any seruice: As I said before, the
 Launtiers are as well mounted for one horse a pece,
 if he haue not two, vnles he be too base minded, and
 the warres verie bare. Besides, all Launtiers receiue e-
 uerie man his owne pay, & haue nothing to do with
 Master, nor anie bodie, sauing his Officers, that com-
 mands him to doo his dutie in the warres. Where-
 fore I perswade my selfe, they maintaine these Ordin-
 ances, as they tearing them, chieflie (as I said before)
 to keepe the auncient customes, fearing in breaking
 that order, diuers of their great men would grudge:
 by reason, all or the most part of these companies be-
 long vnto them. For example our Band of horsemen
 Pentioners, I did accompt them the fairest Band of
 Ordinance in Europe for the number, because all the
 men at Armes are Gentlemen of qualitie: wherefore
 I doo value this Band better, than twicke as manie of
 anie

anie other, let them be of what Nation souuer. I may speake it by good experiance, out of this Band there may be pickt 15. or 20. sufficient to answe so many at all deedes of armes, let it be chosen out of anie Armie, be it neuer so great: considering their charges in payes, expences in victuals, munition, and their liberties for duties; I mean to conuoy, guard, & to watch, so many priuate Launtiers, as this faire Band musters in al of horses, vnder their Ensign, or Guydon, would excell them; my reason is, as I said before, because euerie Launtier is a Master, and receiuers his own pay.

*To prooue Hargulatiuers more seruiceable than
Speare men, tearmed by vs, Light Horsemen.*

THE difference betwixt our Northerne Speares, Light Horsemen we teame them; and the Light Horsemen tearmed by the strangers Hargulatiuers, as much to say Hargabushes or Petronels on horseback. Touching the mounting and arming of these hargulatiuers, I shewed you before, the seruice of all Light horsemen, consists chieflie in marching of great marches, (Caualgades the strangers terme it) I meane, to surprise Companies a farre off in their lodyngs, or marches; likewise to defeat conuoyes, & to conduct conuoyes, as much to say, direct it to spoyle necessariesthat come to furnish their enemies, & to conduct necessariest to furnish their own campe or seruice. Also to scout and discouer, to spare the armed men, I meane the Launtiers, & the other horsemen; likewise both to conduct & spoile forragers, with the like seruices. They be never commanded to do any employts
and

on men of warre, without beeing accompanied with Launtiers, or armed Pistolers, I meane Curaces on horsebacke. Diuers march with swords without pistol or launce, especiallie the Frenchmen. For these seruices it is necessarie to haue in armes or troupes, for euerie 500. Launtiers or armed Curaces, 100. of these kinde of light horse: from that rate to the greatest numbers. If horsmen be directed to assaile troupes at their lodgings, either in villages, streights, or fields, where it requires too great a march for footemen to keepe companie with the horsmen, without doubt these hergulutiers are farre better than the spearmen; my reasons are these; when the horsemen approach the enemie, if it be in a village, lightly they must passe through barriers & narow streights, bard with waggons, both of victualls, and of their men of warre, where commonlie the Enemie keepes guardes and watch. If the passage be such, either in entring a village or straight, that horsmen cannot find place to enter & to charge, these hargulatiuers light on foot, & do no lesse dutie than foote hargabushiers. If the enemie be lodged either too strongly or to manie, for the assailants to do anie good on their quarter, (as ye must think, a 1000. strōglie lodged in a village or streight, with good guard & order, are worth 2000. without, let them be of one valure & conduct) then the assailant will addresse an ambush perhaps, in a passage or narrow streight short of the Enemies quarter, where he will also cause all or the most of those Hergulutiuers to light, then place & hide them in such sort, that 100. shot will spoile and defend ten times more than themselves, vñles the enimies bring shot to displace them,

them, if they doo, the Ambush may dislodge, if hee thinkes the partie vnequall; the which he could not, were his Hargulatiuers Hargabushers without horses, being ingaged to fight. I confesse also the Hargulatiuers farre better than the spearemen for this seruice; if troupes of armed curaces, launtiers, or others, chance to meeete by fortune with the like enemies in a champion, the Hargulatiuers vunarmed march on both sides of their squadrons, or squadron, like wings of shot about a squadron of pikes; vntill the launtiers or curaces charge, diuers of their Hargulatiuers march skirmishing before the squadrons, like forelorne men after the Almaine phrase; when the squadrons charge, they flye on both sides to their fellowes. They place their armed hargulatiuers behinde the squadrons; they execute more than the Launtiers, after the Launtiers break into the enemies squadrons: for the armed hargulatiuers ought to be as well mounted, and armed for curace & caske, sauing their beauers, as the launtiers; the most of them, as I shewed you before carrieth a pistoll, besides his caliuer or petronell. Let it bee for what seruice Captaines can devise, these hargulatiuers are better than our sort of speare men that we teame Light Horfmen. I perswade my selfe, that al the warriers in *Europe*, sauing our selues & the Scots will bee found to bee of my minde. I am sure the Earle of *Essex*, Generall *Norris*, the Lord *Willoughbie*, Sir *William Russell*, Sir *Richard Bingham*, with the most of all that setued against the great Captaines, I mean the Prince of *Parma* and his followers, will say and confesse as I doo. For example, the famous *Mounſier de la Nowe*, commanding chiefe of the warres vnder the Prince

of Orange and the States in Flaunders, had 5. Cornets of these spearemen, all Scotts: he finding little seruice with these kinde of arming and mounting, changed them vnto Launtiers and Hergulutiers; the which afterwards prooued to bee seruiceable, and as braue bands as anie other vnder his charge: especiallie the Company of the valiant *Seaton*. True it is, braue men will shew themselues valiant with any kinde of weapons, all manner of waies: but the best sort of arming and mounting is the more profitable, & the more seruiceable. Although our two Nations (I meane English and Scottish) may compare, and in my opinion doo excell all the rest of the world in value and strength: notwithstanding, neither of both our Nations can comparte with the Strangers for their mounting and arming, vnlesse we resolute to be Launtiers, Pistolers, and Hergulutiers, as I shewed before.

Our Discipline is to haue 1000. Spearemen, and some 200. Launtiers, from that rate to the greatest numbers, which ought to be 1000. Launtiers & 200. Spearemen. Likewise, from that rate to the greatest and those 200. ought to be Hargulatiers. I knowe no reason but 2000. Launtiers, 2000. Pistolers, 1000. Hargulatiers, should not master 20000. Spearemen on horsebacke. Likewise from that rate to the lesser numbers; you must thinke the reason was that our Kings of *England* and *Scotland* fought alwaies or the most part on foote, because their whole trust was on the footmen, and that al strangers mastred them with horsemen: Assure our selues let vs keepe their discipline with horsemen, none shall mastre vs number to number, although they were more.

Let vs not erre in our auncient customes, although our famous Kings *Henrie* the fist, *Edward* the third, and King *Henrie* the eight, were the most worthiest warriers that our nation euer had: notwithstanding you may be assured, had they knowne the terour of Muskets, Caliuers and Pistols, they would haue vsed the lesse Bowes, Speares and Bills; as the actions of these famous Kings shewes their Captaines to be the most expert. Likewise, we must confesse *Alexander*, *Cæsar*, *Scipio*, and *Hannibal*, to be the worthiest and famousst warriers that euer were; notwithstanding assure your selfe had they knowne Artillerie, they would neuer haue battered Townes with Rammes, nor haue conquered Countries so easilie, had they been fortified as *Germanie*, *France*, and the *Low Countries*, with others, haue been since their daies. Although the ground of auncient discipline is the most worthiest and the most famous; notwithstanding, by reason of Fortifications, Stratagems, Ingins, arming, with Munition, the discipline is greatlie altered; the which we must follow and be directed as it is now: otherwise we shall repent it too late.

*The difference berwixt Launtiers and
Pistolers.*

TTrue it is, as *Mounfier de la Noye* saith, a squadron of *Rutters* (meaning Pistolers) ought to beate a squadron of Launtiers. It were a great follie of me, either to denie his reasons or deeds; the little experience I got was from him, and from such others as himselfe. Touching *Mounfier de la Noye*, he

is knowne to bee one of the worthiest and famous
warriers, that Europe bred in his daies, I do perswade
my selfe, a squadron of Pistolers ought to encounter
so many Launtiers, if they should enter into the squa-
drons of Launtiers, as *Mounsier de la Nome* saith.
Without doubt the Pistoll discharged hard by, well
charged with iudgement, murthers more than the
Launce: out of a hundred pistolers, twentie nor
scarce tenne at the most doo neither charge pistoll,
nor enter a squadron as they should, but commonlie
and lightly alwaies they discharge their pistols, eight
and fiftie score off, and so wheele about; at which
turnes the Launtiers charge them in the sides, be they
well conducted, if they should enter as *Monsier de la*
Nome spcakes. The Launtiers haue or ought to haue
one pistoll at the least: touching their arming and
mounting, they ought to be rather better than worse.
The Captaines or Captaine that charges either with
troupes or troupe, cares not much whether the com-
panies breake their Launces or not, but desires them
to enter resolutlie and to keepe close together. If they
bee well conducted, their Leaders commaund more
than halfe of them to carrie their swords or pistols
in the bridle hand, rather than faile to vse the sword
and pistoll, and quit their Launces; but they will be
sure to place the best of the Launtiers in the fore-
front. Lightlie of euerie hundred, fifteene or twentie
know how to brake: being well broken, with care
of the goodnes of the staffe and head, the blowe of
the Launce is little lesse in valour vnto the pistoll; the
charge of the Launtiers is terrible and resolute, being
in carier to breake; the enemies perceiues their reso-
lution

hition is to enter, and not to wheele about like vnto the pistolers, seldome or neuer at all. shall you finde pistolers charge or enter a squadron, either horse or foot on the spurre like vnto the Launtiers; but softly lie on a trot or soft pace, perswading themselues, as it is true, their pistols giue as great blowes, without the force of the horses. Considering the resolute charge done with the might of their horses, the Launtiers are more terrible and make a faire fainer shew, either in Muster or Battaille: for example, the *Almaines*, during the time they carried Launces, carried a faire greater reputation, than they doo now being pistolers, named *Rutters*. The most Chiefe of Souldiers of accoumpt are armed at the hooft of the pistoll. If the Leaders commaund their troupes to spoyle horses, the Launces are more sure, for diuers pistols faile to go off; if they do, they must be charged with discretion; being ouercharged, it shaketh in a mans hand, so that often it touches neither man nor horse. If the charge be too little, it pierceth nothing to speak of. True it is, being pickt and chosen, the pistolers murther more, would they do as *Mounsier de la Nowe* directs them. But if hath bin seldome or neuer heard that Launtiers gaue place vnto *Rutters*; but I was often in their companie when they ranne away, three from one Launtier both in greate troupes and small. True it is, the great Captaine the Admirall *Chatillion*, chose often to fight, and would haue diuers or the most of his horsemen to bee armed, with one pistoll and a good Curtilace: he had great reason, for the most of his followers on horsback were Gentlemen of qualite, or resolute Souldiers that fought for the

Religion.

Religion. Diuers of the Gentlemen were in quarrels for their houses, or for their particular reputation: but all in generall, were resolute valiant faithfull men of warre, that fought either for religion or reputation, to maintaine their wordes after the olde Romaine fashion. Being such men, no weapons comes amisse: for constancie and true valour, ouerthrowes all policy, being in Armes readie to fight without delayes. Besides, the nature of the Frenchme is such, that they will grudge to carrie any Armes, but such as please them selues: vnto the which their Leaders were faine to agree, partlie against their wills, fearing otherwise to offend their humours, knowing it lay in them to followe whome they listed, especiallie their Realme beeing diuided into factions, beeing all vntited, their Kings were faine to hire *Switzers* and *Almaines* for their battailes on foote, I meane armed Pikes, which is the bodie of all battailes.

To prooue Muskettiers the best small shot that ever were inuented.

THE difference betwixt the Muskets and any other peeces that are vsed. If it bee in a battaile, howsocuer the ground or place falleth out in Trenches, either assailing or defending Townes, Forts, or Fortressses, or in defending or assailing streights, or passages, whether it bee bynight or day, in my iudgement fiftie hundred Muskets are better than 1000. Caliuers, or any other such shot, and are to be valued from that rate vnto the greatest numbers. My reasons are thus; the Musket spoyleth horse or man thirtie score

Score off, if the powder bee any thing good, and the bearer of any iudgement. If armed men giue the charge, few or any cartie Armes of the proofe of the Musket, being deliuered within ten or twelue score. If any great troupes of horie or foote, offers to force them with multitude of smaller shot, they may discharge four, five or sixe small bullets being deliuered in volley, the which pearceth al they strike, vntes the enimie be heauilie armed, the which are not vntesse it be some 100. of a 1000. at the most of either horse or foote. By that reckoning 100. Muskets are to bee valued vnto 200. Caliuers or more: the Caliuers may say they will discharge two shot for one, but cannot denie; but one Musket shot doth more hurt than two Caliuers shot, farre or nere & better cheape: although the Musket spend a pound of powder in 8. or 12. shot, and the other smaller shoothes twentie and thirtie of a pound. Considering the wages and expences of two to one, the Musket is better cheape and farre more seruicable. Some thinke the Musket cannot march farte in a day, or night, or continue long without rest, by reason of their weight, nor skirmish so nimble nor so often, by reason of their length, weight, and force recouling. Armed men are heauier loaden than the Musketiers, and more combersome in cariage: lightly no great troupe marchesten miles without resting, although it bee but a little at a time stand and neare the Enemie: the Musketiers are suffered to quit their weight, leauing their Muskets in their rests: the armed men will not be suffered to disarm themselves in their march, let them stand neiter so often, if they bee within fife houres march of an En-

mic any thing equal of either horse or foote: by that reason they haue a little aduantage. Fewe Captaines will force any great troupe of footmen to march aboue 15. miles, without resting: if the Enemie bee equal and in hazard to fight, although it be 20. miles, both armed men and Musketiers will not sticke to march, if their Leaders haue any credite with them, and discretion to furnish their troupes with victualls and necessaries that belongs vnto such a march.

Touching their often discharging, nimblenes and profite, I answered before. For recouling there is no hurt, if they be streight stocked after the *Spaniſh* manner. For their weight and sure shooting, the Musketiers haue aduantage on all the other small shot, by reason they shooe in their rests: true it is, were they stocked crooked after the *French* manner to be discharged on the breast, fewe or none could abide their recouling, by reason of their great charges of powder: but being discharged from the shoulder after the *Spaniſh* manner, with the thumbbe betwixt the stocke and the face, there is neither daunger nor hurt, if the shooter haue any discretion, especiallie not to overload their pieces, and take heede that the bullets ioynē close to the powder. Fewe seruices of importance are executed in the field without armed me: & where armed men will march, the Musketiers are ill conducted, vntesse they doo the like, let it bee never so faire. The overthrowes of all Battailles and great fights are given within two miles, the most in halfe a mile: for that space, were it further, the Musketiers march as their Leaders needs to wish them.

Touching light skirmishes, whiles it bee to some purpose,

purpose, none vseth them, vntes it bee rawe men or
light headed, that delights to heare the peeces cracke:
as I said before, the most seruice consists either to de-
fend or assaile passages, by water, or by streights, or to
assaile Townes, Forts, Fortresses, or whatsoeuer ser-
uice you can inuent: if it be done on great troupes, the
Musketiers are the terriblest shot and most profitable
that euer was devised. The *Spaniards* doo vse them
most, and findes their seruice and retrour such, that I
perswade my selfe shortly, all or the most of their
small shot will be Musketiers. True it is, I doo think
it necessarie to haue of 1000. shot, 200. Calivers, from
that rate to the greater number, and such shot for this
purpose, when occasion presents to make great mar-
ches (Canalgades the strangers calls it) to give Capti-
sadoes on troupes that are lodged a farre off, to sur-
prise Townes, Fortresses or passages that are simple
manned, and negligentlie guarded, or to lye in Ambush
a farre off, to cut off conuoyes, passengers, and such
seruices. These lighter shot are necessarie to march
great marches with horsemen for these purposes,
the which are often taken behind the horsemen for
expedition of great marches, to doo executions un-
looked for.

*To prooue the Pike the most honorable wea-
pon carried by Footmen.*

The Pike is the most honorable weapon that is
carried by Footmen; the Pike is the strength
of all Battailes. I knowe no reason but 2000.
Pikes, 1000. Musketiers, should not retire ten miles,

although it were all champion grounds, from 3000. horsemen mounted and armed, as Captaunes can devise. The Pike is the chiefest weapon to defend, and to enter a breach, although diuers guards neere a place assiegued are furnished onlie with shot and short weapons, as armed Holberts, Targets, & such weapons, by reason their Trenches are narrowe and deepe to couer them from the defendants shot, in which trenches the Pikes haue no conuenient place to fight: notwithstanding, about their batteries, and in diuers places neere vnto these guards, they make large Cor-digards, where they place their Ensignes in some and in all strong guards of Pikes; meaning thereby to put their strength & rest chieflie on that weapon: wherefore the experimeted *Spaniards* commands all their chiefe men on foote to carrie the Pike.

What number of short weapons there ought to be amongst one thousand armed men, from that rate to the greater number.

I Perswade my selfe there ought to be amongst one thousand Pikes, 200. short weapons, as Holberts or Bills; but the Bills must bee of good stiffe, not like our common browne Bills, which are lightlie for the most part all yron, with a little steele or none at all; but they ought to bee made of good yron and steele, with long strong pikes at the least of 12. inches long, armed with yron to the midds of the staffe, like the Holberts: for example, like vnto those which the Earle of *Leicester*, and Sir *William Pelham* had in the Low Countries for their guards: being made thus,

no doubt but it is a necessarie weapon to guard Ensignes in the field, Trenches or Townes, and a good weapon to execute, but no better than the Halberd. Because the Frenchmen make their Halberds with long neckt pikes , and of naughtie stiffe like our common browne bills, diuers of our Nation condemnes the halberds : but let the halberds be of good stiffe and stronglie made, after the Millaine fashion, with large heads to cut, and broad strong pikes both to cut & to thrust, then without doubt the halberd is nothing behinde the bill for all manner of seruice, & armes a scouldier fairer than the bill. Both bills & halberds ought to haue corslets, with light Millain murrians ; the foreparts ought to be of reasonable proofe, I meane of the proofe of the Caliuer, discharged 10. or 12. score of : so ought the Pikes also to haue the foreparts of their corslets of the like proofe, 15 or 20. of enerie 100. from that rate vnto the greatest numbers. I know no reason, that 10000. armed men ought to ask aboue 200. targeters of the proofe : those weapons are very combersome, they are best to arme men to discouer breaches, or for the defendants ; to discouer trenches, or the enimies woorkes ; and for to couer shot that skirmishes in streights: their weights are such, that few men wil endure to carrie them (if they be of good proofe) one hour, I perswade my selfe, the best arming of targeters, is to haue the corslets of reasonable proofe , and the targets light; so the bearmers may the better and nimblest assaile , and fight the longer in defending,

To prooue Bow-men the Worst shot vsed in
these daies.

Touching bow-men, I perswade my selfe 500. musketers are more seruiceable than 1500. bow men; from that rate to the greater numbers in al manner of seruices my reasons are thus: among 5000 bowmen, you shall not finde 1000. good Archers, I meane to shoot strong shoothes; let them be in the field 3. or 4. months, hardlie finde of 5000. scarce 500. able to make anie strong shoothes. In defending or assailing anie trenches, lightly they must discouer themselues to make faire shoothes; where the others shot spoyle them, by reason they discouer nothing of themselues vnlesse it be a little through small holes. Few or none doo anie great hurt 12. or 14. score off; they are not to be compared vnto the other shoothes to line battels, or to march, either in the wings of anie battailes, or before, as we terme the from the Almaine phraz fore-lorne hope. Diuers will say, they are good to spoyle the horsmen; I doo confesse it, if the horsmen come within their shoothes, and cannot charge them by reason of their trenches or guards of pikes. Lightly whē the horsmen approach within 12. score, the trumpets sound the charge; if it be on shot, that lies wher they cannot charge, they are ill conducted that leade anie great troupe of horsmen to charge trenches. Commonlie the Cornets or Guydons charge one another if there be anie of both sides: if not, few horsmen wel conducted, wil charge either trenches, or battailes of footmen, ynles they see a faire entrie, or the footmen begin

begin to shake, as good Captains wil soone perceiue. If they do charge, they will be sure to be well accompanied with smal shot, which soone terrifies bowmen, especiallie the musketters: besides the horsemen are all wel armed, in such sort that bowmen cannot hurt the men; let them say what they list, when the men are sure the arrowes will not pierce them, they wil be the valianter: although the horses be killed, and the masters seruice lost for that day, notwithstanding they think it better to be taken prisone six times, than killed once: beside, the munition that belongs vnto bowmen, are not so commonly found in all places, especilly arrowes: as powder is vnto the other shot. Also time and ill weather weakeneth the bowes as well as the men. In our ancient wars, our enimies vsed crossbowes, and such shoots; few, or anie at all had the vse of long bowes as we had; wherefore none could compare with vs for shot: but God forbid we should trie our bowes with their muskets and caliuers, without the like shot to answer them. I doo not doubt but all, honorable and others, which haue serued in the Low countreyes, will say as I doo: notwithstanding some will contrarie it, althogh they never saw the true trial of any of those weapons belonging either to horse or foote; alledging antiquitie without other reasons, saying, wee carried armes before they weere borne. Little doo they thinke, how Cæsar ended all his great actions in lesse than 12. yeares: by their reckoning none could prooue great Captaines that followed him, which began and ended in that time, as Duke D'aluia said, the longer experted, the more perfect. True it is, long experience requires age, age without experience

rience requires small discipline. Therefore we are de-
ceiued, to iudge men expert because they carried
armes 40.yeres, and neuer in action 3. yeres, during
their liues counting all together.

Some will say, what discipline could there be seen
in the actions of the *Netherlanders* and *France*, coun-
ting them ciuil warres: touching the *Netherlanders*,
the world doth knowe their warres dured 23.yeares,
without anie peace, putting altogether not 15.mōths.
The warres of *France* dured 30.yeres: true it is they
had often peace, and a long time together: wherefore
it cannot be compared vnto the other; notwithstanding,
in these actions were employed all the brauest
Nations of *Europe*, their greatest Captains, Enginers,
and Counsellors for warre.

*VVhat fortifications are best to withstand a
royall batterie; and to provue a wet ditch better
than a drie.*

Some will condemne mee for my strange names
of fortifications, they ought to pardon me: for
my part, I knowe no other names than are giuen
by the strangers, because there are fewe or none at all
in our language. If a man should call a Casamate a
slaughter house, the multitude would thinke I speak
of a place to kill biefes, and such matters; if I should
call a Caullere a mount, diuers would aske, what to
doo? to place windmills or artillerie; if I should cal a
Rampier a wall, they would thinke I lied, vnlesse it
were made of lime & stone: therfore as the most lan-
guages calls *London* and *Bristol* as we do, so is it best
for

for vs to call their inuentiones as they doo: touching Muskets, Caliuers and Hargubuziers, with other things, we doo agree with their names. The best drie ditch, is to haue the ditch 100. paces broad, and fiftie foote deepe, fourt Casamats on euery side of the Bulwarks, the lowest to flanke the bottome of the ditch from the one side vnto the other; the second likewise within ten foot, with broad Casamats, that the Artillerie may be raised high behind, to beate a long the ditches, as nigh to the bottome as can be deuised; the third & fourth Casamats likewise within tennē foote one of another, to flanke the ditch in euerie part as lowe as may be deuised; also the fourth Casamat must flanke the Counterskarfe: in euerie part the Counterskarfe ought to be three score broad, rising from the foote to the head; the head ought to couer the ditch & rampier as high as the fourth Casamat: you cannot bestowe too much cost on the Counterskarfe, for before the Enimie posseſſe the Counterskarfe, he cannot batter to take away any of the flankes: wherefore it ought to be made with all the arte that can be deuised with lime and stone, from the foote to the head, especiallie for fortie paces nere vnto the head. It were not amis, although it hath bin neuer ſcene before to haue mines like vaultes, ouerthwart to the middes of the Counterskarfe; which mines ought to be flanked with two lowe Casamats out of the head of the Bulwarks, likewise from Bulwarke to Bulwarke in that ſort: my reaſon is, when the assailant lodgeth in the Counterscarfe, they muſt be couered with Trenches, the which wil be hardlie done by reaſon of theſe mines. The mines cannot be

hurtfull; let the Enimie finde them, they cannot lodge
 in them, wee knowe it by good experience: he that
 posseth a mine, first having an entrie that cannot
 bee cut off, hath treble aduantage, though the mine
 were sodeinlie made, much more being made artifi-
 cially with time and care, having a Casamat to flank
 it. The Counterscarfe ought to haue parapets cut in
 them foure foote deepe, euerie trench to flanke one
 another, from the head to the foote of the Counter-
 scarfe, I meane place to lodge what troupes pleafeth
 the defendants to guard it, with diuers places to falle
 both horse and foote at their pleasures. Euerie Bul-
 warke ought to haue two falles, one for horse and
 foote, the other a little secret falle: the Bulwarkes
 ought to flank one another within tenne score; eue-
 rie Curte ought to haue two Caualers to cōmand
 the field within their shoothes, aswell as the Coun-
 terscarfes: let all this be finished as Captaines and In-
 giners can deuise. Notwithstanding, no drie ditch
 can bee compared for strength vnto a wet ditch: my
 reason is thus, where water may be drawne vnto the
 ditch of the Rampier, likelic it may be drawne vnto
 the Counterscarfe ditch: halfe or the best part of the
 Fortifications is lost, when the Counterscarfe is
 posset, being posset, the assailants with their Tren-
 ches on wheeles, pusht on with strong poles with the
 force of men, the which may bee made of the proofe
 of a field peece: with those and with wooll sackes,
 gabions, sand bagges, faggots, & such deuises, as they
 had before *Sluce*, they will soone place their batterie:
 after dismounting the Caualeres and highest Cas-
 mats. Also they will deface the Counterscarfe, enter
 the

the ditch with mines in diuers places, in time make all the Counterscarfe an easie entrie in the ditch, and keepe their guards in the sides where the flankes cannot annoy them: that being done, they will sone lay batterie to the other Casamats before they batter: hauing an easie entrie into the ditch, the defendants dare not sally, by reason the assailants artillerie beates all their high flankes & parpets; in such sort, that none dares shew themselues. Let the defendants enter the ditch, the assailants will enter also; being pel mell, the casamats kils their owne as wel as their enemies. Being thus (no doubt) in short time the assailants will lodge in the rampier let it be neuer so thick, what trenches within the Captaines and Engioners can devise, vnlesse they haue new fortifications like vnto those, I named before: in time the Assailant will lodge his Batterie on the Rampiers, as they did at *Mastricht*, & in short time fight with equall hands with the defendants to their vndooing. Therefore a drie ditch can not be compared vnto a wet. If there can bee made a wet deepe broad ditch at the foot of the counterscarfe, where the water may not be taken away, I know no reason that the defendants should loose their Counterscarfe, being well manned. If the water may bee drawne out of both the ditches of rampier and counterscarfe, yet is the wet ditches better than the drie. Fewe good Enginers giues counsaile to make a wet ditch artificiallie, without Casamates vnder water, as lowe as reason perswades them the water may be taken from them: being let out, there remaines in some trenches, water that cannot be voyded, being cleane taken away the Casamats flankes all one.

As I said before, flanks cannot be take away, without possessing the counterscarfe, neither can a broad ditch be filde without great murders against reason, without dismounting the flankes. Some will say, the drie ditch is better, alledging that any armie may the better succour the place assieged, and that the defendants may the better sally out. Touching the succouring of the Assieged, it is well knowne, all Armies are victualled from hand to mouth; he that leades an armie to leuie a siege, and cannot finde a place to lodge his armie, within 3. houres march of the others, where he shalbe assured to force his enemies to fight within 10. daies, leauie his siege, or famish, conducts his troupes verie ill. None besiegeth anie place, but intrencheth himselfe and troupes in such sort, that 5000. will defend trenches, against thrice their number: wherfore the succours are ill conducted to force trenches, and may fight better cheape. Touching the Sallies of the besieged, if the fortification be such, as I named before, it ought to haue in it for euerie Bulwarke a ponton, I meane a bridge ioyned close together with yron Engins, like vnto those of the Citadell of Antwerpe. Those Pontoons are iust the breadth of the ditch, hatched fast with yron hookes vnto the Counterscarffe, made so broad, and so strong, that artillerie may passe beside horse & foote. These pontoons serue a wet ditch for sallying, aswell as any salies that belongs vnto a drie ditch: both wet and drie, when the counterscarfe is possest, leeseth their sallying, if the Seigers be good Captaines. All Batteries ought to be guarded with strong trenches, and all quarters ought to be stronglie entrenched, as I said before; especiallie,

lie, the assaillants hauing intelligence of succours, that being furnisht, the salying of the assegid is their own confusion. It is dangerous to haue Bastiles from the rampier like vnto *Mastricht, Vtrecht, & other places*. Some counts these bastiles bulwarkes, I thinke all bulwarkes ought to be gardall round about : others counts them spurres or rauelins; whether they bee spurres, bastiles, rauelins or bulwarks, they be dangerous vntes they ioyne vnto the rampier, or to be furnisht during a siedge with strong guards. Commonlie they are not guarded, vntes the enimie lodgeth against them, because the defendants perswade themselves, the Enemie dares not lodge in them, by reason they be open vnto the surteine and cauileres like the Counterscarfes. These Bastiles haue much earth. Let the Enemie enter one of them, within two houres he couers himself in the earth; nothing made with hands that can be battered, but will be made assaultable. Is there a bredth in one of them, & the enimie can beate the entry, I meane the bridge, betwixt the curten and it, their succours is cut off. Besides the defendants shall not find much ground within them, to retrench theselues against the cannon; & where the cannon plaies no defendant dare shew himselfe, some will say, these bastiles may haue Counterscarfes as I named before; I doo confess it, but they are so farre from the rampier, that neither the rampier, his Counterscarfe, nor scarce caualere can flanke; wherefore without doubt these bastiles that are not ioined vnto the rampier, are very dangerous, and not to be compared vnto the others ioyning. True it is, men, victuals and munition ought to defend Trenches against an Armie, I do

confesse it, a little Armie against a great, I meane halfe so manie. But no Fortifications made with mens hands, can be kept continuallie against a royall Armie, without succours, if it can be battered; nor against a small Armie, without men, victualls, and munition; wanting one of the three, the best Fortresse is lost, you must think the assailants hauing the field, and meanes to reenforce their troupes as they list, the losse of 100. vnto the defendants is more, than 2000. vnto the assailants. But let the defendants or assailants do their duties to the vttermost in any kind of seruices, vnlesse it pleaseth their masters or superiours to grace their deedes, their well doing will be turned to nought, and their vertues, to vices. Wherefore all men of warre ought to pray to hazard their liues in the sight of their Princes or estates, then like-
lie they will confesse no traffique so deare as liues, especiallie being in action with equall enemies. It is hard to please the most masters, & vnpossible to content the rude multitude: the least worme wil mooue, hauing any life being troden vpon: for mine owne part I doo confesse to be one of the least in respect of thousands, not so base but euer I carried a minde rather to be buried dead than aliue.

I speake this for the wrongs done vnto my selfe & companions for the defence of the towne of *Sluce*: true it is, those that serues many, serues no bodie; I meane, they shall finde none that will confess to be their masters, especiallie when they should be rewarded for their seruice, but the multitude will be readie to disgrace their seruants, thinking by such meanes to pay them their debts, or at the least sufficient rewards

wards to be reconciled vnto them and pardoned for their misconstred thoughts. Wherefore I would wish all men of warre, and they can to be in al strange Princes or estates debts, rather than they in yours: if your masters be giuen to any machiuel humours, the debts that should pay you, will hire the diuers others: are you in their debts, you are sure not to be wrōged, thinking your seruice to come paied for. Although our masters the States be for the most part honest and vertuous personages, notwithstanding looke into their actions, you shall finde a number of Captaines wronged besides our selues: they are partie to be borne withal. Sometimes great Captaines are so ambitious, that they will deface their inferiours deedes: therefore there can be no great fault in the States, nor any such, when we wrong one another: otherwise time and fortune might make inferiours Competitors with the great ones. Sometimes fortune frownes on the greatest Captaines, in such sort, that they cannot or will not performe that the world lookes they should do, then likelie had they rather burie their instruments and inferiours, rather than be touched themselues with the least disgrace. Therefore you cannot blame the poore Souldier to desire the eye of his master, when he hazardeth his life. Subiects are vassals vnto Princes and States, and not vnto the most Generalls: although I never knewe any, notwithstanding, it is well knowne ambitious Generals wronged often their masters; being in those humors, they will be sure to wrong their inferiours, vnlesse they serue their turnes. Touching our wrongs, I impute it to no bodie but vnto our own fortunes, as the Spaniards

ards said vnto Charles the 5. *Adeunda falt a la diecha, non apreniecha la diligencia.* Touching *Sluse*, I do protest by the faith of a Souldier, what I write is troth. As nigh as I can remember, we kept the Towne about 60. daies: diuers thinkes it no time, because *Harlam*, *Mastricht*, and others, were kept longer; little do they thinke how those places were furnisht with all necessaries, especially, the lesser of both had in thē at the least 6000. hands to fight and to work. Let vs be rightly iudged; I will proue that *Bouennene* was the furiousst siege that was in the Lowe Countries, since Duke *D'aluas* arriual vntil this houre; the which began and ended in lesse than 20. daies; notwithstanding, there was more Captaines and Souldiers, spoiled by sword & bullet at that siege, thā at *Harlam*, which dured ten months. Experimented Captaines wil confess, the furie of all breaches are tried in few houres, and the furie of artillerie preuented without sodaine attempts. We were not in *Sluse* 1600. fighting, workmen, and all; we had to keepe (counting the 2. forts) aboue two miles & a halfe. It is well knowne, before we entred, the Towne lost one fort. If we shewed aanie valour in our entrie, let Sir *Henrie Palmer*, and his Seamen, with them of *Zealand* iudge; the danger was not so little, but of the vessels that caried vs in, 5. were taken the next tide in comming out. The third tide, Sir *Charles Blunt* offered fiftie pounds (besides the cōmandement his Masters and Mariners receiued at his imbarking) to carrie vs our necessaries from Sir *William Russell*, then Lord Gouernour of *Vlissing*, who indeed was the occasion of our entrie, resolution, and quicke dispatch; who sent with vs a good quantitie of

of victualls and munition: and to say troth, without his earnest dispatches wee had not entred; then the world knowes the Towne had been lost without blowes, as a number of others were in those Countries farre better than *sluce*: the best sort doth know had I and my companions marchanted our liues, as traffickers doo their ware, wee had no neede to haue entred *sluce*; for our direction was but to *Ostend*: we were battered with thirtie Cannons and eight Culuerings on *S. Jacobs* eeue: from three of the clocke in the morning vntill fiue in the after noone, they shot aboue 4000 Cannon shot. By the Dukes owne confession he never saw so furious a batterie in one day: we were made faultable aboue 200. and 50. paces, betwixt fiue of the clocke and seauen: we were about fiue times at the push of the pike for our breach, where wee spoyled the enemies in great numbers, who perciuing our trenches within ouerthwart the breach, quited their furies: afterwards wee kept the Towne 18. daies, the Enemie being lodged in our porte, rampier, and breach, aboue 300. paces, in the which time the Enemie passed through the port sixe paces to beate our Trenches within: wee kept our Fort vntill wee were made faultable more than our Troupes could guard, vnlesse wee would quite the Towne: being mined, we countermined them, in the which wee fought hourelie for the space of 9. daies with Sword, Target and Pistols: at our breach, port, and rampier of the Towne wee fought daylie with pikes, short weapons and stones, besides our shot for the said space of 18. daies. Touching our sallies, let the Enemie testifie.

The Duke of *Parma* being entred, asked me which was *Baskeruilde*, standing before him; I shewed him: who imbraced him, turning towards his Nobilitie, he said, there serues no Prince in *Europe* a brauer man. Most true it is, at one sallie he had the point with an hundred corslets of the best sort, who charged and made to runne, eight Spanish Ensignes of the *Tertia Vecho*, and hurt their Master *del Campo*. True it is, he was seconded with a number of others; but himselfe principallie knowne by prisoners, & his great plume of feathers. Also Sir *Francis Vere* marked for his red mandilion, who stood alwaies in the head of the ar- med men at the assaults of the Fort and Towne: be- ing twise hurt, I and other his friends requested him to retire, he answered, he had rather be kild ten times at a breach, than once in a house. Captaine *Hart* most valiantlie swamme in and out to shewe our Generall and States our wants and daungers: the world dooth knowe what pickes there was betwixt them at that instant, such that none can denie but a full resolution was taken not to enter in by water. The world doth knowe our Armie by land retired at midnight from *Blanckenborough* to *Ostend*: let enuie and malice speake what they list, troath may bee blamed but nevere sha- med: wee were lost men but for our owne wits and resolution; our powder was al spent so farre, that we had not to maintaine halfe a daies fight; the Enemies had gotten into our Rampier so farre, that their shot flanked vs into our trenches: for 18. nights wee lay al- waies Officers and all at our breach, where wee eate our meate continuallie: we had not left vnbroken of twentic field peeces with their Artillerie, foure: wee endu-

endured in Towne and Fort, seuenteene thousand
 foure hundred and aboue of Cannon shot. Where
 malicious tongues speak of our assaults, I protest we
 endured one assault in the Fort at Breaches & Myne,
 from nine of the clocke in the morning, vntil two in
 the afternoone, where the Braue Marquis of *Renti*
 was hurt, the great Captaine *Mounsieur de la More* lost
 his right arme, *Mounsieur de Strippeny*, Colonell of
 the *Burgonians* slaine, with diuers Captaines and Of-
 ficers: besides, by their own report at that assault they
 had slain, aboue seuen hundred & as manie hurt: we
 had hurt and slaine at that assault aboue one hundred
 and fiftie; where Colonell *Huntley*, Sir *Edmond Vdall*,
 Sir *John Scot*, Captaine *Ferdinando Gorge*, Master
Selinger, Captaine *Nicholas Baskeruilde*, with diuers
 other Gentlemen and Officers shewed themselues
 most valiantlie, both at that assault and at al other ser-
 uices, during the said Siedge. Captaine *Frauncis Al-
 lene* swamme in with Captaine *Hart* after the breach
 was made; during his time, none shewed greater va-
 lour. Trulie, all the *Wallons* with their Souldiers shew-
 ed themselues constant, resolute and valiant, especi-
 allie the braue Captaines, *Messures de Medkerke* and
Erogier. Wee were but foure English Bands, neere
 two hundred strong a peece, by reason we diuided a-
 mongst them some two hundred and fiftie Musketi-
 ers, who through the meanes of the Gouernour of
Vlissing, came with vs from his Garrison, from *Berg-
 hen*, and *Ostende*. There were manie Lieftenants, En-
 signes, & serieants, aduenturers, beside those soldiers:
 the better halfe of our men wer slain: for of 1600. En-
 glish, Wallons, & Flemings, we carried not out 700.

In respect of our losses, our Captaines asked paye for the whole numbers ; wherefore our masters the States and others, would not confess our losses to be so great. From the first houre of our entrie, vntill our coming out, none came to vs but those which swam. The Duke of *Parma* himself asked me before a great number, what were our losses ? I answered him with the troth as neere as I could : himselfe, and diuers other assured vs, that he lost before *Sluce* ffeue and fortie Captaines besides other Chiefes, and more Soul-diours than he lost at *Nuse*, *Berke*, *Graue*, and *Vendello*. What wordes I spake vnto the Englishmen that followed him, my companions can witnesse. Some others (besides the Duke and my selfe) knowes, if I listed, and promise kept, I might haue had a far greater number of Pistolls, than cuer I had of Angells. True it is, some Princes loue treason, but neuer like the traytours : did they loue them, they should neuer loue mee, for the least thought of such matters. Where it pleased some to speake of two Irish Greihounds, which the Duke requested me to send vnto him ; returning to *Middleborow*, where I found the Earle our General, he gaue me two faire Greihounds, commaunding me not to faile to send them vnto the Duke : and finding Master *Steenens*, sometime seruant vnto the most noble Sir *Philip Sidney*, returning vnto the Duke, on my request he presented the dogges; for the which it pleased the Duke to send me a faire Spanish horse with a rich saddle. The saying is true, it is better for some to steale a horse than others to looke on : notwithstanding, that I gaue nothing nor received nothing without the consent of my Generall, it

was

was enuied without more occasion. A faire horse with rich furniture is easilie discouered by day light, where bagges or rich bribes can hardlie bee seene, if the parties hath wit to couer it, the which the *Spaniard* presents often to many, vñknowne to their masters or estates, els their credites had not troubled *Eu-*
rope as it doth, nor the proceedings against them so slowlie as it is in some places. Some said also; if they had been in such dangers in *Sluce*, wherefore gaue the Duke of *Parma* such large composition vnto them? I knowe no reason but this, sixe daies before wee gaue ouer the Towne, all the Captaines and Officers met in councell: hauing seene our dangers, and some per-
ceiuing the heate of our succours, wee assigned our Articles of composition, swore all to haue them graunted vnto vs or to dye, and to burne the Towne and Castle, so escape that could through the drow-
ned land: the copie of those Articles with other let-
ters we sent vnto the Earle our Generall and Estates, the which came into the Enemies hands, by reason the messenger was slaine in swimming by their boates & pallisade on the riuier. This is well knowne vnto all our companions, for the Marquis of *Rentie* out of his Trench tolde it me openlie before all our guards at the breach, and that *Owen* a Welsh Gentle-
man had much adoo to put my foule hand in Italian to the Duke. Also wee made a sallie, where wee lost two Officers, who shewed them our resolution, the which we maintained being face to face with the Duke in our parlie, and returned once from him into the Towne, thinking he would not agree vnto some of the Articles: but his prudence or his counsell per-

swaded him to send for vs againe, and to signe them
 all. But I protest on the faith of a Christian, I thinke
 so will the rest of my companions protest the like,
 for my part I knowe not how wee might haue kept
 the Towne twelue houres with the losse of our liues
 had wee been all desperate, if it had pleased the Ene-
 mies to attempt vs: but most true it is, rather than
 take any base conditions, some & many would haue
 ended our liues in that place. I protest to all manner
 of qualities, I write not this with a meaning to con-
 demne any particular nor generall that should haue
 succoured vs, nor to robbe the least defendant of his
 right; for I confesse my selfe the simplest Captaine of
 halfe a dozen that was within the Towne, three or
 toure of them, were they knowne & rightly iudged,
 are sufficient to conduct double that Garrison in any
 Armie in the world, and to conduct a greater troupe
 hauing authoritie. Some may blame mee because I
 tooke no care in writing this action of *Sluce* more
 larger, and in better order; I will doo it at large in my
 discourse of the Netherlanders actions, perhaps both
 that and a number of other matters, in better order,
 than some perswaded great Personages, I could doo.
 True it is, some are to write, some to speake, others to
 execute. What I want in anie of those vertues, my
 bloud shall witnes in others the zeale I beare towards
 my sacred Soueraigne and deare Countrey, if occa-
 sion presents it. In the meane time, and alwaies, I pray
 most heartily to the Almighty to preserue her sacred
 health and Royall estate to the honour of God, and
 confusion of her Enemies.

FINIS.

(3) 11.

A Briefe discourse of Warre.

Written by Sir Roger VVilliams
Knight, *With his opinion concerning*
some parts of the
Martiall Disci-
pline.

Newly perused.



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